

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-15 SAM-01

DHA-02 AID-05 PC-05 EB-07 MCT-01 OMB-01 IO-13 /102 R

DRAFTED BY NEA/IRN:CWNAAS:AMF

APPROVED BY NEA/IRN:CWNAAS

NEA:EABINGTON

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TO AMEMBASSY TEHRAN PRIORITY

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SHUM, IR

SUBJECT: CONGRESSIONAL TESTIMONY ON HUMAN RIGHTS--ATHERTON
SPEECH

1. FOLLOWING IS FULL TEXT OF ATHERTON STATEMENT ON HUMAN
RIGHTS AS GIVEN TO FRASER SUB-COMMITTEE SEPTEMBER 8. WE
SHALL SEND YOU QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS AS SOON AS WE HAVE
RECEIVED TRANSCRIPT. SEPTTEL WILL FOLLOW WITH FEW RE-
QUESTS FOR INFO TO SEND WRITTEN ANSWERS TO SUB-COMMITTEE.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

MR. CHAIRMAN:

AND MEMBERS OF THIS SUBCOMMITTEE,

I WANT FIRST TO EXPRESS MY APPRECIATION TO YOU FOR DELAYING
THIS TESTIMONY ON THE QUESTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN IRAN
WHILE I ACCOMPANIED THE SECRETARY ON HIS RECENT VISIT TO
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IRAN, PAKISTAN, AND AFGHANISTAN AND SUBSEQUENTLY HAD

A BRIEF VACATION.

I REGRET THAT I DID NOT GET COPIES OF THIS OPENING STATEMENT TO YOU AS FAR IN ADVANCE AS YOU WOULD PREFER, BUT I ONLY RETURNED TO WASHINGTON A COUPLE OF DAYS AGO TO FINISH GOING OVER THE MATERIAL WHICH I WISH TO PRESENT FOR YOUR CONSIDERATION TODAY. I SHALL BE PLEASED TO ANSWER QUESTIONS FROM YOU TODAY AND, OF COURSE, PROVIDE FURTHER WRITTEN MATERIAL WITHIN THE NEXT WEEK IF THIS IS NECESSARY.

THE OBSERVANCE OF BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS IN ALL COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD AND THE WILLINGNESS AND ABILITY OF GOVERNMENTS TO CARRY OUT THE AIMS OF THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE CONVENTIONS ON HUMAN RIGHTS ARE IMPORTANT FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES OF THE UNITED STATES. THEY ARE IMPORTANT IF WE ARE TO BE TRUE TO OUR TRADITIONS AND VALUES, TO OUR INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS, AND TO THE INTENT OF THE CONGRESS. EVEN VIEWED IN TERMS OF REALPOLITIK, WE KNOW THAT THE OBSERVANCE OR VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AFFECTS THE LONG-TERM STABILITY OF COUNTRIES AND, THUS, AFFECTS THE REALIZATION OF U.S. NATIONAL INTERESTS AND OBJECTIVES.

AS OTHERS OF MY COLLEAGUES HAVE SAID BEFORE ME, WE MUST, OF COURSE, IN APPROACHING THE ISSUE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN EVERY COUNTRY, WEIGH OUR POLICIES IN THE LIGHT OF THE TOTALITY OF OUR INTERESTS IN OUR RELATIONS WITH THAT COUNTRY. WE MUST ALSO APPROACH THIS ISSUE IN RECOGNITION OF THE FACT THAT THERE ARE WIDE VARIETIES OF SOCIAL AND LEGAL SYSTEMS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, EXTRAORDINARILY DIVERSE CULTURES, AND WIDELY VARYING HISTORICAL EXPERIENCES AND POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SYSTEMS.

OUR INTERESTS IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH IRAN, AND THE WAYS IN WHICH IRANIAN POLICIES ARE CONGRUENT WITH AND SUPPORTIVE OF OURS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, IN SOUTH ASIA AND GLOBALLY--ALL THIS IS A MATTER OF PUBLIC RECORD WHICH I NEED NOT REITERATE TODAY. IT IS IMPORTANT, HOWEVER, TO PUT THE QUESTION OF POLITICAL AND CIVIL RIGHTS IN IRAN, WHICH IS BASICALLY WHAT IS BEFORE US TODAY, IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF OUR POLICY. UNCLASSIFIED

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TIVE OF IRAN'S HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE AND IN THE CONTEXT OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN IRAN IN THEIR BROADEST SENSE. I ASK THE SUBCOMMITTEE'S INDULGENCE, MR. CHAIRMAN, IN WHAT MAY AT FIRST SEEM A DIVERSION BUT WHICH I SINCERELY BELIEVE IS DIRECTLY RELEVANT TO AN HONEST EXAMINATION OF THE ISSUES. I APOLOGIZE THAT SOME OF WHAT I WILL SAY COVERS GROUND ALREADY GONE OVER BY MR. BUTLER IN HIS THOUGHTFUL TESTIMONY, BUT I AM SURE YOU WILL AGREE THAT IT IS IMPORTANT

TO HAVE IN THE RECORD EXECUTIVE BRANCH VIEWS ON SOME OF THE POINTS HE COVERED.

IRAN, LIKE TURKEY AND OTHER ANCIENT COUNTRIES OF THE NEAR EAST, SUFFERED IN THE 19TH CENTURY WHAT IT REGARDS AS INDIGNITIES AT THE HANDS OF THE WEST. ACCORDINGLY, THEY ARE TODAY EXTRAORDINARILY NATIONALISTIC AND KEENLY SENSITIVE TO THEIR SOVEREIGN RIGHTS AND THEIR DISTINCTIVE CULTURAL AND POLITICAL HERITAGE.

PRESENT-DAY IRAN HAS A LEGACY OF AN ANCIENT AND COMPLEX CULTURE AND SOCIAL SYSTEM. IT IS AN EXTRAORDINARILY DIVERSE LAND WITH AT LEAST 3 OR 4 MAJOR ETHNIC AND LINGUISTIC GROUPS AND WIDE VARIATIONS WITHIN THE POPULATION IN OUTLOOK, ASPIRATIONS, EXPECTATIONS AND EDUCATIONAL LEVELS. IT IS NOT AN EXAGGERATION TO STATE THAT FOR THE LAST 40-50 YEARS, IRANIAN LEADERSHIP HAS BEEN INVOLVED IN THE DIFFICULT AND DEMANDING TASK OF CREATING AND BUILDING A MODERN NATIONAL STATE ON THE FOUNDATION OF A TRADITIONAL AND, IN MANY WAYS, FEUDAL CIVILIZATION. THE TASK OF MODERNIZING A TRADITIONAL LAND AND PEOPLE WITH WHAT WERE UNTIL RECENTLY VERY LIMITED FINANCIAL RESOURCES AND A NARROW SKILLED MANPOWER BASE, IS AS GREAT IN IRAN AS IT HAS BEEN ELSEWHERE. THERE HAVE BEEN SEVERE SOCIAL SHOCKS TO THE SYSTEM AND DISRUPTION IN THE TRADITIONAL WAY OF LIFE. THE GOVERNMENT OF IRAN IN THE LAST FEW DECADES HAS MADE GREAT PROGRESS IN THIS PROCESS BUT HAS A LONG WAY YET TO TRAVEL.

THERE ARE PRACTICES AND PROCEDURES IN IRAN'S JUDICIAL, PENAL, POLITICAL AND INFORMATIONAL SYSTEMS WHICH VARY CONSIDERABLY FROM OUR OWN. IRAN'S LEGAL SYSTEM, FOR EXAMPLE, HAS FOR ABOUT 75 YEARS BEEN BASED ON THE NAPOLEONIC CODE BUT IT OPERATES IN A COUNTRY WHOSE VERY LONG HISTORY INCLUDES CULTURAL, RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL SYSTEMS WHICH ARE IN NO WAY LINKED TO WESTERN TRADITIONS. MIXED WITH THE NAPOLEONIC CODE ARE ISLAMIC TRADITIONS AND LOCAL CUSTOMS. AMONG THE LATTER, ONE OF THE MOST RELEVANT TO OUR DISCUSSION IS THE COUNTRY'S HISTORY OF STRONG CENTRAL LEADERSHIP--A MONARCHICAL TRADITION THAT DATES BACK 2500 YEARS.

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HOWEVER, WE SHARE WITH MODERN DAY IRAN MANY ASPIRATIONS AND HOPES FOR OUR RESPECTIVE PEOPLES AND THIS HAS BEEN ONE OF THE BASES FOR THE PARTICULARLY CLOSE AND MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL RELATIONSHIPS WHICH HAS BEEN FIRMLY ESTABLISHED OVER THE LAST THREE DECADES.

THE SHAH OF IRAN FOR NEARLY TWO DECADES HAS BEEN INSTITUTING WHAT WAS FIRST CALLED THE WHITE REVOLUTION AND, LATER, THE SHAH-PEOPLE REVOLUTION. WHETHER IT BE CALLED A REVOLUTION OR A FORCED EVOLUTION, ONE THING IS CLEAR--IRAN IS UNDERGOING A MASSIVE PROCESS OF CHANGE IN EVERY SPHERE OF HUMAN ENTERPRISE. WHAT I WILL SKETCH OUT HERE ARE SOME OF THE EFFORTS WHICH ARE BEING MADE TO TRANSFORM THIS TRADITIONAL SOCIETY INTO A MODERN ONE. IRANIAN LEADERS FACE MAJOR PROBLEMS AND WOULD BE THE FIRST TO ADMIT THAT THEIR COUNTRY HAS FAR TO GO TO COPE WITH ALL OF THEM. THE PROGRAMS THEY HAVE INSTITUTED CAN BE CONSIDERED VERY IMPRESSIVE EFFORTS TO RAISE THE CONDITIONS OF LIFE FOR THE IRANIAN PEOPLE.

LAND REFORM WAS AMONG THE MOST VISIBLY SUCCESSFUL ELEMENTS OF THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC REFORM INSTITUTED IN THE 1960'S. IN THE FIRST PHASE OF LAND REFORM IN 1962, NEARLY 600,000 FARM FAMILIES RECEIVED TITLES TO THE LAND THEY WERE TILLING FOR THE LARGE, IN MANY CASES ABSENTEE, LANDHOLDERS. IN THE SECOND PHASE FIVE YEARS LATER, OVER TWO MILLION FARMERS BENEFITED FROM LAND DISTRIBUTION. ONE CAN ROUGHLY ESTIMATE THAT A THIRD OR MORE OF THE POPULATION WAS BENEFICIALLY AFFECTED BY THESE MAJOR INITIATIVES.

ANOTHER MAJOR AREA OF BENEFICIAL CHANGE RESULTED FROM THE NEW LITERACY CORPS, WHICH WAS FIRST DISPATCHED TO
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THE COUNTRYSIDE IN 1963. SINCE THAT TIME, APPROXIMATELY 100,000 YOUNG IRANIANS, OVER 10,000 OF WHOM ARE WOMEN, HAVE WORKED IN THE VILLAGES, TEACHING THE CHILDREN AND ADULTS TO READ AND WRITE AND TO ACQUIRE A NUMBER OF OTHER SKILLS. PERHAPS ONE OF THE MOST SIGNIFICANT FEATURES POLITICALLY AND SOCIALLY OF THIS EFFORT HAS BEEN THE BRINGING TOGETHER THE NEWLY EDUCATED CLASS IN THE CORPS WITH REMOTE VILLAGERS. A RESULT OF THIS HAS BEEN THE SPREADING OF NEW OR MODERN IDEAS AND CONCEPTS, AND PRESENTING VISIBLE EVIDENCE THAT THE LEADERS OF GOVERNMENT WERE CONCERNED ABOUT THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATION'S HUMAN RESOURCES. THIS HAS NOT ALWAYS BEEN THE CASE IN IRAN'S LONG HISTORY. ALSO, AN UNEXPECTED DIVIDEND OF THIS EXPERIENCE IS THAT THOUSANDS OF THE CORPSMEN AND WOMEN HAVE ELECTED TO BECOME TEACHERS.

THE SUCCESS OF THE LITERACY CORPS, WHICH HAS BEEN POPULAR IN THE VILLAGES, LED IN 1964 TO THE CREATION OF THE HEALTH CORPS TO BRING MEDICAL CARE TO RURAL AREAS WHERE THERE WERE NO DOCTORS. IN THE TWELVE YEARS THAT HAVE FOLLOWED, OVER 9,000 HEALTH CORPSMEN--ABOUT ONE-THIRD DOCTORS AND THE REMAINDER TRAINED MEDICAL ASSISTANTS--HAVE GIVEN

REGULARLY SCHEDULED OUT-PATIENT TREATMENT FROM RURAL CLINICS AND BY THE USE OF MOBILE VANS. A WOMEN'S HEALTH CORPS HAS RECENTLY BEEN FORMED WHICH WILL EMPHASIZE FAMILY PLANNING. THE HEALTH CORPS PROGRAM IS UNIVERSALLY POPULAR IN IRAN FOR IT PROVIDES A SERVICE WHICH EVERYONE WANTS. IT HAS BEEN ONE MORE EFFORT TO MEET THE FELT NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE.

THE EXTENSION AND DEVELOPMENT CORPS IS THE LAST OF THESE UNIQUE INSTITUTIONS--SO REMINISCENT OF OUR OWN PEACE CORPS--THAT I WILL MENTION TODAY. THIS ORGANIZATION WAS ENVISIONED AS SUCCESSOR TO THE AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION PROGRAM WHICH HAD BEEN HEAVILY EMPHASIZED DURING THE PERIOD OF AMERICAN "POINT FOUR" AID TO IRAN. IT WAS ANNOUNCED SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH THE HEALTH CORPS IN SEPTEMBER 1964 (ALTHOUGH THE FIRST TEAMS DID NOT GO TO THE FIELD UNTIL MAY 1965) AND WAS EXPECTED TO FUNCTION IN TANDEM WITH THAT PROGRAM AND WITH THE LITERACY CORPS. SERVICE REQUIREMENTS ARE THE SAME: FOUR MONTHS OF TRAINING

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AND FOURTEEN MONTHS OF SERVICE IN A VILLAGE; UNIVERSITY-TRAINED AGRONOMISTS AND VETERINARIANS SERVE AS SECOND LIEUTENANTS, AND HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES ARE EXTENSION AGENTS WITH THE RANK OF SERGEANT. THE EXTENSION AND DEVELOPMENT CORPS WAS TO BRING TO THE RURAL AREAS OF IRAN, IN THE SHAH'S WORDS, "DEVELOPMENT, PROSPERITY, ADVANCED AGRICULTURAL METHODS AND A NEW METHOD OF SOCIAL THINKING." ROUGHLY 5,000 CORPSMEN ARE SERVING AND THE TOTAL NUMBER WHO HAVE TAKEN PART IN THE PROGRAM IS OVER 24,000.

ONE OF THE MOST SERIOUS PROBLEMS TRADITIONALLY FACED BY FARMERS IN IRAN (AND IN MANY OTHER DEVELOPING COUNTRIES) WAS ACCESS TO A REASONABLY EQUITABLE JURIDICAL PROCESS TO SETTLE DISPUTES. TRADITIONALLY, THE LANDLORD OR HIS AGENT IMPOSED A DECISION OR THE HEADMAN OF THE VILLAGE NEGOTIATED THE DISPUTE. THE ONLY APPEAL FROM THE LANDLORD'S DECISION WAS TO THE COURTS IN A TOWN OR CITY, BUT THE TIME AND MONEY INVOLVED EFFECTIVELY REMOVED THIS FORM OF POTENTIAL REDRESS FROM MOST OF THE PEASANTRY. TO REMEDY THIS SITUATION, THE HOUSE OF EQUITY DECREE WAS ISSUED IN DECEMBER 1963. IT PROVIDED FOR THE ELECTION BY SECRET BALLOT OF THREE CHIEF JUDGES AND TWO ALTERNATES FROM A LIST OF VILLAGERS TO SERVE AS A VILLAGE COURT. AN INTERESTING INTERCONNECTION OF THESE VARIOUS REFORMS IS THAT THE LITERACY CORPSMAN GENERALLY SERVES AS THE SECRETARY TO THE COURT. THESE VILLAGE COURTS ARE EMPOWERED TO TRY ALL FINANCIAL DISPUTES INVOLVING LESS THAN 5,000 RIALS (ABOUT 70 DOLLARS) AND TO ADJUDICATE CASES SUCH AS IN-

HERITANCE, TRESPASS, ADULTERY, BREACH OF PROMISE, WATER SHARING AND LAND BOUNDARIES--IN OTHER WORDS, ELEMENTAL

DISPUTES THAT OFTEN RAVAGE VILLAGES AND LEAD TO VIOLENCE. A SOMEWHAT SIMILAR CONCEPT HAS NOW BEEN INTRODUCED IN OVER 200 TOWNS IN IRAN;

THE MOST CONTROVERSIAL REFORM WHEN IT WAS FIRST BROUGHT UP IN 1962 INVOLVED VOTING RIGHTS, FOR IT INVOLVED GIVING WOMEN THE VOTE AS WELL AND GENERALLY IMPROVING THEIR STATUS IN SOCIETY. WHEREAS LAND REFORM BENEFITED ALL THE FARMERS WORKING LAND WHERE THEY LIVED, THE ADVENT OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE WAS UNPALATABLE TO ALL BUT THE MOST LIBERAL IRANIANS

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IN ALL WALKS OF LIFE; AS IN ALL SOCIAL REFORMS, PROGRESS IN WOMEN'S RIGHTS HAS BEEN GRADUAL; LAWS HAVE BEEN PASSED GIVING WOMEN THE RIGHT TO HOLD PROPERTY AND TO SUE FOR DIVORCE FOR CAUSE, BUT SOCIAL ATTITUDES HAVE CHANGED MORE GRADUALLY THAN THE LAWS. BUT, THE CHANGES IN THE STATUS OF IRANIAN WOMEN, PARTICULARLY IN THE CITIES, ARE IMPRESSIVE.

MR. CHAIRMAN, I HAVE SELECTED THE ABOVE REFORMS OUT OF THE SEVENTEEN WHICH ARE INCLUDED IN THE "SHAH-PEOPLE REVOLUTION" BECAUSE THEY RELATE DIRECTLY TO A NUMBER OF FUNDAMENTAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RIGHTS: JUSTICE AND EQUITY FOR THE FARMERS AND VILLAGERS THROUGH LAND REFORM AND VILLAGE COURTS; INCREASED LITERACY WITHOUT WHICH NO COUNTRY CAN PROSPER; NEW EFFORTS TO PROVIDE HEALTH CARE; ASSISTANCE IN OTHER FORMS OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT; AND IMPROVEMENT IN THE STATUS OF WOMEN. IN SUM, THEY AMOUNT TO A SIGNIFICANT IMPROVEMENT IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF MILLIONS OF IRANIANS.

EXCEPT FOR THE VOTING REFORM, YOU WILL NOTE THAT THESE REFORMS AND MOST OF THE OTHERS OF THE 1960'S LARGELY BENEFITED THE RURAL AREAS WHERE THE VAST BULK OF THE POPULATION STILL LIVES.

HOWEVER, IN IRAN IN RECENT YEARS, AS IN ALL RAPIDLY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, THE MOVEMENT TO THE CITY FROM THE COUNTRYSIDE IS ALTERING THE DEMOGRAPHIC BALANCE. THE GOVERNMENT OF IRAN IS NOW FACING THE VERY PROBLEMS--AND THE BENEFITS--WE ALL FACE WITH URBANIZATION. TEHRAN, FOR EXAMPLE, IS NOW A CITY OF OVER 4 MILLION PEOPLE, WHEREAS TWO DECADES AGO THE POPULATION WOULD HAVE NUMBERED ONLY SEVERAL HUNDRED THOUSAND. OUR OWN EXPERIENCE SHOWS THAT THERE ARE NO PANACEAS FOR THE PROBLEMS CONFRONTING THE NEW URBAN PROLETARIAT. HOWEVER, HAVING MADE MAJOR CHANGES IN THE RURAL AREAS, THE GOVERNMENT IS NOW ATTEMPTING TO

MEET THE NEEDS OF THE CITY DWELLER AND WORKER. AN EARLY REFORM WAS A PROFIT-SHARING SCHEME WHICH CALLED FOR EMPLOYERS TO PAY BONUSES TO THEIR WORKERS BASED EITHER ON GROSS

INCOME, NET PROFIT OR PRODUCTION LEVELS. A ROUGH ESTIMATE
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IS THAT 270,000 WORKERS ARE BENEFITING FROM THE PROGRAM. THE MOST RECENT ADDITION TO THE REFORM PROGRAM TOOK PLACE LAST YEAR WHEN THE IRANIAN GOVERNMENT SET IN MOTION A STOCK DIVESTITURE PROGRAM UNDER WHICH UP TO 49 PERCENT OF STOCK IN A PARTICULAR INDUSTRY WILL BE OFFERED TO WORKERS AND FARMERS. IT IS TOO EARLY TO SAY WHAT THE RESULTS OF THIS BOLD PLAN WILL BE, BUT IT IS REFLECTIVE OF THE GOVERNMENT'S INTENT TO PROVIDE OWNERSHIP/PARTICIPATION AND NEW BENEFITS TO THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER.

IN ADDITION TO THESE REFORMS--WHICH I AGAIN NOTE ARE A PART OF THE SHAH-PEOPLE REVOLUTION--THE GOVERNMENT HAS INTRODUCED A WIDE VARIETY OF MEASURES AIMED AT IMPLEMENTING THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RIGHTS OF ITS PEOPLE. THE PRICES OF MANY STAPLES--FLOUR, SALT, AND SUGAR, FOR EXAMPLE--ARE HEAVILY SUBSIDIZED BY THE GOVERNMENT TO KEEP THEM WITHIN REACH OF EVEN THE LESS WELL-OFF CITIZEN. THE GOVERNMENT SPENDS APPROXIMATELY 1 BILLION DOLLARS PER YEAR ON THIS PROGRAM. EDUCATION IS NOW FREE THROUGH THE HIGH SCHOOL LEVEL AND A VERY LARGE SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM PROVIDES FOR FREE COLLEGE EDUCATION. THERE ARE APPROXIMATELY 20,000 IRANIANS STUDYING IN THIS COUNTRY--MANY OF THEM WITH IRANIAN GOVERNMENTAL FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE. A NEW SOCIAL SECURITY SYSTEM, PATTERNED ON OUR OWN SOCIAL SECURITY LAW, HAS BEEN INTRODUCED. THERE IS A WIDE VARIETY OF OTHER SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC IMPROVEMENTS WHICH ARE BEING IMPLEMENTED OR WHICH WILL BE COMMENCED IN THE NEAR FUTURE. I WILL NOT GO INTO FURTHER DETAIL AT THIS TIME, BUT YOU MAY BE INTERESTED TO KNOW THAT OF IRAN'S ANTICIPATED EXPENDITURE OF 92.5 BILLION DOLLARS (EXCLUDES FOREIGN LOAN REPAYMENTS, FOREIGN INVESTMENTS BY IRAN AND MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS AND WELFARE SUPPORT; THE LATTER ITEM CONSISTS LARGELY OF THE GOVERNMENT'S FOOD COMMODITY SUPPORT PROGRAM) IN THE CURRENT FIVE YEAR PLAN, APPROXIMATELY 55 PERCENT IS DEDICATED TO WHAT CAN BE FAIRLY VIEWED AS DIRECTLY CONTRIBUTING TO THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC BETTERMENT OF THE PEOPLE. PER CAPITA INCOME IS ABOUT 1600 DOLLARS COMPARED TO ONLY 700 DOLLARS A FEW YEARS AGO. THE RICH ARE GETTING RICHER, BUT EVEN A SHORT VISIT TO IRAN REVEALS MUCH BETTER THAN DRY STATISTICS THAT A SUBSTANTIAL MIDDLE CLASS IS DEVELOPING AND MORE PEOPLE HAVE MORE
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DISPOSABLE INCOME.

MR. CHAIRMAN, I HAVE BRIEFLY TOUCHED UPON SOME KEY ELEMENTS OF THE PROGRAMS AND ACTIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF IRAN FOR TWO REASONS:

(1) THE FIRST IS TO DRAW MORE ATTENTION TO THE SIGNIFICANT DEGREE OF SOCIAL CHANGE WHICH IS BUBBLING IN THIS TRADITIONAL SOCIETY AND THE MAJOR STRIDES TAKEN TOWARD FULFILLMENT OF GOALS ADDRESSED IN THE INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS.

(2) THE SECOND POINT I WISH TO MAKE IS THAT IRAN IS CLEARLY IN A PERIOD OF MAJOR SOCIAL CHANGE. THE PEOPLE WHO HAVE BETTERED THEIR LIVES, OR HAVE A REASONABLE EXPECTATION OF DOING SO, ARE MANY. BUT, OTHER FORCES HAVE ALSO BEEN DEEPLY AFFECTED BY THE CHANGE--THE VESTED INTERESTS WHOSE POWER IN SOCIETY AND THE BODY POLITIC HAS BEEN REDUCED OR ELIMINATED. IN MANY SOCIETIES, THE POSITION OF TRADITIONAL POWER ELITES IS VERY FREQUENTLY UNDERMINED BY THE PROCESS OF CHANGE. IN FACT, MODERNIZATION IN THE BEST SENSE OF THAT WORD IS POSSIBLE ONLY IF THE GRIP OF OLDER ELITES IS LOOSENED, OR A UNIQUE CONSENSUS OF OLD AND NEW IS ACHIEVED. IN IRAN THE LARGE LAND HOLDERS, AND THE LEADERS OF LARGE TRIBAL GROUPS HAVE SEEN THE BASES OF THEIR STRENGTH SEVERELY ERODED BY LAND REFORM AND THE OTHER REFORMS WHICH I PREVIOUSLY MENTIONED. THE RELIGIOUSLY CONSERVATIVE ELEMENTS IN THE SOCIETY, POWERFUL IN VARYING DEGREES IN ALL MUSLIM COUNTRIES, HAVE AT TIMES VIGOROUSLY OPPOSED THE WHOLE PROCESS OF MODERNIZATION WHICH THEY CONSIDER TO BE SECTARIAN AND ANTI-ISLAMIC.

THE VOTING RIGHTS PROPOSAL REFERRED TO EARLIER, FOR EXAMPLE, BROUGHT ABOUT LARGE-SCALE RIOTING IN THE STREETS OF TEHRAN IN 1963. THESE RIOTS, WHICH WERE PUT DOWN WITH FORCE BY THE GOVERNMENT, HAD BEEN ORGANIZED BY A LEADING CLERIC WHO EXPLOITED THE STRONG ANTI-FEMINIST SENTIMENT IN THE SOCIETY.

THERE IS ANOTHER IMPORTANT SOURCE OF OPPOSITION TO THE IRANIAN CHANGES OF RECENT YEARS. TO THIS DAY, MR. CHAIR-

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MAN, THE GOVERNMENT OF IRAN IS CONFRONTED BY THE OPPOSITION--USING AT TIMES BRUTAL AND HARSH METHODS--OF EXTREMIST FROM THE LEFT AND THE RIGHT.

I WILL NOT GO INTO A LONG PRESENTATION ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COMMUNIST OR RADICAL LEFTIST MOVEMENTS IN IRAN, BUT LET ME RECALL THAT LARGE PARTS OF NORTHERN AND WESTERN IRAN WERE OCCUPIED BY SOVIET FORCES BETWEEN 1941 AND 1946. THIS WAS THE SECOND OCCUPATION IN THIS CENTURY BY RUSSIAN FORCES OF SIGNIFICANT PARTS OF IRAN. IN THE WAR YEARS THE SOVIET UNION ACTIVELY ENCOURAGED AND ABETTED SEPARATIST

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MOVEMENTS IN THESE AREAS AND SUBSTANTIALLY HELPED IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN IRANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY--THE TUDEH PARTY--WHICH OWED ITS PRINCIPAL ALLEGIANCE AT THAT TIME TO THE SOVIET UNION. IN THE LATTER STAGE OF PRIME MINISTER MOSSADEGH'S GOVERNMENT IN 1953, THE TUDEH PARTY WAS VIRTUALLY IN CONTROL OF AND HAD ORGANIZED A BROAD CONSPIRACY THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. WHEN THE SHAH REASSERTED HIS CONTROL, THE TUDEH PARTY AND THE ADVOCACY OF COMMUNISM WERE OUTLAWED. THE ADVOCACY OF COMMUNISM IS STILL A CRIME AND THE ACCUSED ARE TRIED IN THE MILITARY COURTS.

THUS THE GOVERNMENT OF IRAN HAS FACED DURING THE PAST 30 YEARS STRONG OPPOSITION FROM AN EXTREME LEFTIST MOVEMENT, TIED IN VARIOUS WAYS TO THE OUTSIDE, AND OPPOSITION FROM THE INDIGENOUS, EXTREMELY TRADITIONAL FORCES WHO RESENT CHANGE AND MODERNITY. AS I NOTED ABOVE, THE OPPOSITION TO THE GOVERNMENT OF IRAN HAS FREQUENTLY TAKEN A VIOLENT AND BRUTAL TURN. BY THIS I MEAN TERRORIST ACTIONS, WHICH WE SAW SENSELESSLY REFLECTED ONLY A WEEK AGO IN THE MURDERS OF THREE AMERICAN CIVILIANS.

TERRORISM AS A FORM OF POLITICAL ACTION IS NOT A NEW PHENOMENON IN IRANIAN HISTORY. IT HAS LONG HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL ROOTS. SINCE THE 1960'S A NUMBER OF SEPARATE TERRORIST GROUPS WHOSE PRINCIPAL PLATFORM HAS BEEN THE VIOLENT OVERTHROW OF THE REGIME HAVE COME AND GONE BUT THIS PHENOMENON CONTINUES. THE VICTIMS OF THE TERRORISTS HAVE INCLUDED AN IRANIAN PRIME MINISTER, NUMEROUS POLICE
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AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND SIX AMERICANS. PLOTS TO KIDNAP THE EMPRESS OF IRAN AND THE CROWN PRINCE WERE UNCOVERED AND SEVERAL EFFORTS TO MURDER THE SHAH WERE MADE. YOU WILL RECALL THAT IN 1949 THE SHAH WAS WOUNDED BY A TERRORIST ATTACK. RELATIVELY LITTLE IS KNOWN ABOUT THE NUMBERS OF TERRORISTS INVOLVED--THEY ARE NOT PARTICULARLY LARGE WE ARE TOLD--BUT THROUGH STEALTH AND INDIVIDUAL MURDER THEY ARE ABLE TO MAKE THEIR PRESENCE FELT.

NEITHER DO WE KNOW A GREAT DEAL ABOUT THE VARIOUS POLITI-

CAL PROGRAMS OF THESE GROUPS, FOR THEIR PRINCIPAL MOTIVATION APPEARS TO BE THE DESTRUCTION OF THE CURRENT SOCIETY AND ITS LEADERS; THESE GROUPS HAVE NOT PROMOTED CONSTRUCTIVE ALTERNATIVES. IT APPEARS THAT IN EFFECT THE TERRORISTS COME FROM TWO IDEOLOGICAL CURRENTS--ONE EXTREME LEFTIST IF NOT NEO-ANARCHIST, AND THE OTHER STRONGLY INFLUENCED BY EXTREME RELIGIOUS CONSERVATISM. AT TIMES THERE HAVE APPEARED TO BE TWO SEPARATE MOVEMENTS, BOTH OF WHICH CAN BE HAZILY LINKED TO EARLIER TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS.

BUT IT ALSO APPEARS THAT THE TWO GROUPS HAVE OFTEN WORKED TOGETHER IN INDIVIDUAL POLITICAL MURDERS AND MAY IN FACT BE WINGS OF THE SAME MOVEMENT BROUGHT TOGETHER IN A LOOSE FEDERATION--HAVING IN COMMON THEIR HATRED OF THE REGIME. WE DO KNOW THAT ELEMENTS REPRESENTING AT LEAST ONE OF THESE GROUPS WERE INVOLVED IN THE MURDER OF THE TWO AMERICAN COLONELS LAST YEAR IN TEHRAN. IT IS ALSO VERY CLEAR THAT IN ADDITION TO THE INDIGENOUS SUPPORT THAT THE TERRORISTS RECEIVE, THEY HAVE ESTABLISHED LINKS WITH A VARIETY OF TERRORIST MOVEMENTS ABROAD AND HAVE RECEIVED SUBSTANTIAL FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE AND VERY LARGE QUANTITIES OF ARMS. IN RECENT SUCCESSFUL ATTACKS ON TERRORIST SAFEHOUSES IN TEHRAN, LARGE CACHES OF FOREIGN ARMS--MACHINE-GUNS, HAND GRENADES, PISTOLS, ETC.--HAVE BEEN FOUND, AS WELL AS SUMS OF MONEY.

ALL OF US HAVE BEEN HORRIFIED BY THE LOD MASSACRE, THE MURDERS AT THE OLYMPIC GAMES, THE NUMEROUS HIJACKING OF CIVILIAN AIRLINERS, AND THE NUMEROUS INDIVIDUAL ASSASSINATIONS, INCLUDING THE MURDER OF AMERICAN AMBASSADORS AND OTHER OFFICIALS, WHICH HAVE TAKEN PLACE THROUGHOUT THE UNCLASSIFIED

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WORLD. THE MEDIA, EXCEPT ON RARE OCCASIONS, HAVE NOT PAID AS MUCH ATTENTION, QUITE UNDERSTANDABLY, TO THE FACT THAT THE IRANIAN LEADERSHIP IS FACED TODAY, AND HAS FACED FOR MANY YEARS, A TERRORIST MOVEMENT WHICH NEED NOT TAKE SECOND PLACE TO ANY GROUP IN ITS BRUTALITY. THIS PROBLEM--THIS CANCER--MUST BE KEPT IN MIND WHEN WE VIEW EVENTS IN IRAN.

IN VIEW OF THESE DISRUPTIONS AND THEIR THREAT TO THE SECURITY OF THE STATE AND TO ITS LEADERS, THE GOVERNMENT OF IRAN THROUGH ITS LEGISLATIVE PROCESSES HAS DETERMINED THAT PERSONS CHARGED WITH ACTIONS AGAINST THE SECURITY OF THE STATE OR OF ACTIONS AGAINST OFFICIAL PERSONS AND PROPERTY WILL BE TRIED BY THE MILITARY COURT SYSTEM. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF JURISTS AND OTHERS HAVE CRITICIZED THIS PROCEDURE AND HAVE MADE A NUMBER OF CHARGES CONCERNING THE TREATMENT GIVEN TO PEOPLE WHO FALL WITHIN

THE MILITARY COURTS SYSTEM. THE PROCEDURES OF THAT COURT DO NOT, IN FACT, MEET THE CRITERIA SET FORTH IN RELEVANT INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS OR THAT WE HAVE ESTABLISHED FOR OUR COURT SYSTEMS, ALTHOUGH THE COURTS DO OPERATE ACCORDING TO IRANIAN LAW.

INVESTIGATING AUTHORITIES IN IRAN HAVE THE POWER TO DETAIN SUSPECTS DURING INVESTIGATIONS OF ALLEGED CRIMES WITHOUT FORMAL CHARGES BEING IMMEDIATELY PLACED. DETENTION FOR PERSONS INVOLVED IN CRIMES HAVING TO DO WITH STATE SECURITY

CAN EITHER LAST ONLY A FEW HOURS FOR THE INITIAL QUESTIONING--WHICH IS PROBABLY THE CASE FOR THE VAST MAJORITY OF CASES--OR UP TO ONE TO FOUR MONTHS FOR THE RARE FULLER INVESTIGATIONS OF DETAINEES ON WHOM PRIMA FACIE EVIDENCE OF A CRIME HAS BEEN GATHERED OR WHO HAVE A PREVIOUS RECORD. WHEN FORMAL CHARGES ARE MADE, THE ACCUSED HAS A RIGHT TO SELECT COUNSEL FROM A LIST AND, TO THE BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE, THIS RIGHT IS GENERALLY OBSERVED IN PRACTICE. IF THE ACCUSED PRISONER DOES NOT MAKE A CHOICE OF COUNSEL FROM THE LIST, THE COURT APPOINTS COUNSEL. WE UNDERSTAND THAT VISITS FROM FAMILY AND FRIENDS ARE NOT PERMITTED DURING THE INVESTIGATORY STAGE BUT THAT DURING THE TRIAL AND LATER, IF THE INDIVIDUAL IS SENTENCED, SUCH VISITS
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ARE GENERALLY PERMITTED.

WE HAVE ALSO SEEN REPORTS FROM INDIVIDUALS WHO CLAIM THAT TORTURE HAS BEEN USED IN THE INVESTIGATORY PERIOD. WHILE WE HAVE NO DIRECT VERIFIABLE EVIDENCE OF THIS, IT IS DIFFICULT TO DISCOUNT THE MANY PERSISTENT REPORTS, PARTICULARLY IN THE CONTEXT OF TERRORIST VIOLENCE, THAT THERE HAVE BEEN CASES OF HARSH METHODS BEING USED BY THE IRANIAN POLICE AND SECURITY SERVICES. I DO NOT CONDONE SUCH TREATMENT IN THE IRANIAN SYSTEM OR ANY OTHER SYSTEM. I SIMPLY MUST REITERATE AGAIN THE CONTEXT OF THE CHARGES. MOST OF THE CHARGES OF TORTURE ARE AT LEAST 2 TO 3 YEARS OLD. THE ONLY RECENT CHARGES, LARGELY MADE BY IRANIANS ABROAD, ALL CONCERNED TERRORISTS WHO WERE ALLEGEDLY KILLED OR MAIMED UNDER TORTURE. AS MR. BUTLER NOTED, IT IS VERY DIFFICULT TO OBTAIN INFORMATION ON THIS SITUATION. HOWEVER, IN A NUMBER OF SPECIFIC CASES THAT OUR EMBASSY IN TEHRAN HAS BEEN ABLE TO EXAMINE, WE HAVE FOUND THAT MANY OF THOSE ALLEGED TO HAVE BEEN TORTURED HAD BEEN KILLED OR WOUNDED IN ARMED EXCHANGES WITH THE SECURITY FORCES OR SUFFERED WOUNDS DURING THE CLANDESTINE PREPARATION OF EXPLOSIVES. I SHOULD AT THE SAME TIME POINT OUT THAT, WHILE THE IRANIAN PENAL CODE IMPOSES SEVERE PENALTIES ON THOSE WHO ORDER OR PRACTICE TORTURE, WE HAVE NO INFORMA-

TION ON CASES WHERE THESE PENALTIES HAVE BEEN IMPOSED.

MR. CHAIRMAN, A FAIR AMOUNT HAS BEEN WRITTEN ABOUT THE NUMBER OF "POLITICAL PRISONERS", AND IN YOUR INVITATION TO ME YOU REQUESTED THAT I COMMENT ON THIS MATTER. THERE IS NO PRECISE DEFINITION OF THE TERM "POLITICAL PRISONER" IN THE IRANIAN CONTEXT, BUT THERE MAY WELL BE A NUMBER--PERHAPS A HUNDRED TO A HUNDRED AND FIFTY--WHO WOULD FALL WITHIN THE DEFINITION IN YOUR LETTER; THAT IS, "PERSONS WHO HAVE BEEN DETAINED, ARRESTED OR PUNISHED FOR THEIR BELIEFS OR OPINIONS BUT WHO HAVE NEITHER USED NOR ADVOCATED

VIOLENCE." AS I SAID EARLIER, MEMBERSHIP IN A COMMUNIST MOVEMENT OR THE ADVOCACY OF COMMUNISM ARE ILLEGAL UNDER IRANIAN LAW. I SIMPLY DO NOT KNOW HOW MANY PERSONS ARE JAILED FOR WHAT WE WOULD CONSIDER NORMAL POLITICAL DISSENT. I AM REASONABLY CERTAIN THAT THE LARGE MAJORITY OF PRISO-UNCLASSIFIED

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NERS WHO HAVE GONE THROUGH THE MILITARY COURT SYSTEM WERE CONVICTED FOR INVOLVEMENT IN PLANNING OR CARRYING OUT VIOLENT ACTS AGAINST THE SECURITY OF THE STATE, OR OVERTLY ENGAGED IN ACTS OF TERRORISM, OR WERE ASSOCIATED IN SOME WAY WITH THE TERRORISTS. THE NUMBER OF SUCH PEOPLE IN PRISON TODAY IS PROBABLY IN THE RANGE OF 2800 TO 3500. IRAN HAS FOR SOME YEARS HAD AN AMNESTY PROGRAM, AND THIS MONTH 307 PRISONERS CONVICTED BY MILITARY TRIBUNALS WERE RELEASED, TO COMMEMORATE THE "GOLDEN JUBILEE" OF THE PAHLAVI DYNASTY, AS WERE NEARLY 1800 PERSONS CONVICTED IN CIVIL COURTS FOR VARIOUS OFFENSES. EARLIER THIS YEAR 247 PERSONS CONVICTED IN MILITARY COURTS WERE PARDONED AND RELEASED. THIS IS THE LARGEST SINGLE GROUP IN RECENT TIMES, AS FAR AS I AM AWARE, BUT EACH YEAR SUBSTANTIAL NUMBERS OF PRISONERS WHO WERE NOT DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN TERRORIST MURDERS HAVE BEEN AMNESTIED. LAST YEAR OVER TWO HUNDRED WERE RELEASED.

WE ESTIMATE THAT OVER 90 PERCENT OF EX-MEMBERS OF THE TUDEH PARTY, WHO WERE ARRESTED, HAVE BEEN RELEASED AND INTEGRATED INTO THE SOCIETY. IN FACT, IN ONE RECENT CABINET, TWO MEMBERS WERE EX-TUDEH PARTY MEMBERS.

YOU ALSO WISHED ME TO COMMENT UPON THE NUMBER OF PERSONS CONVICTED OF "POLITICAL CRIMES" AND THE SENTENCES WHICH THEY HAVE RECEIVED. WE HAVE NO INFORMATION ON THE NUMBERS CONVICTED, BUT SENTENCES HAVE RANGED FROM A FEW YEARS TO LIFE IMPRISONMENT AND TO THE DEATH SENTENCE. IN HIS REPORT MR. BUTLER WROTE THAT OF THE 424 PRISONERS WHOSE NAMES WERE LISTED, "75 HAVE BEEN EXECUTED, 55 HAVE BEEN GIVEN LIFE SENTENCES, 33 HAVE BEEN SENTENCED TO BETWEEN

10 AND 15 YEARS IMPRISONMENT AND THAT THE REST WERE GIVEN LESSER SENTENCES." MR. BUTLER'S STATISTICS ARE PROBABLY WITHIN A REASONABLE ORDER OF MAGNITUDE, BUT LET ME ADD THAT A RECENT AMERICAN JOURNALIST FROM A MAJOR US NEWSPAPER VISITED AN IRANIAN PRISON AND WAS INTRODUCED TO AND INTERVIEWED A NUMBER OF PRISONERS WHOM OPPONENTS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF IRAN HAVE LONG CLAIMED HAD DIED IN PRISON FROM TORTURE.

THE IRANIAN CRIMINAL CODE SPECIFICALLY CALLS FOR THE DEATH
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PENALTY FOR PERSONS INVOLVED IN ACTIONS AGAINST INTERNAL SECURITY WHICH RESULT IN THE DEATH OF OTHERS OR IN THE DESTRUCTION OF MAJOR GOVERNMENT PROPERTY. CONSPIRACY TO COMMIT SUCH CRIMES CAN RESULT IN SENTENCES OF UP TO THREE YEARS. VIOLENCE AGAINST AN INDIVIDUAL WHICH DOES NOT RESULT IN HIS DEATH HAS BEEN PUNISHABLE BY FROM THREE TO FIVE YEARS OF HARD LABOR, BUT A RECENT LAW HAS REQUIRED A MINIMUM SENTENCE OF FIVE YEARS FOR CRIMES INVOLVING A THREAT TO STATE SECURITY.

IN ADDITION TO THE EXECUTIONS REFERRED TO BY MR. BUTLER, A NUMBER OF OTHERS FOUND GUILTY IN THE COURTS HAVE BEEN EXECUTED THIS YEAR IN CONFORMANCE WITH THE LAW. AMONG THESE WERE THE CHIEF PLANNER AND SOME OF THE PERSONS ACTIVELY INVOLVED IN THE MURDER OF THE TWO AMERICAN COLONELS LAST YEAR.

THE IRANIAN GOVERNMENT ALSO DEALS FIRMLY WITH OTHER ACTS OF TERRORISM. A COUPLE OF YEARS AGO, IRAQI TERRORISTS WHO HIJACKED A PLANE TO IRAN WERE TRIED AND EXECUTED UNDER IRANIAN LAW.

MR. CHAIRMAN, I WOULD LIKE BRIEFLY TO ADDRESS TWO OTHER QUESTIONS WHICH YOU PUT TO ME AND TO SUBMIT AS AN ENCLOSURE TO THIS STATEMENT, IN ORDER TO SAVE TIME, ANSWERS TO A FEW OTHER MATTERS IN WHICH YOU HAVE SHOWN INTEREST. I WOULD BE GLAD TO ANSWER QUESTIONS ON THOSE MATTERS AS WELL. WE BELIEVE THAT THE IRANIAN GOVERNMENT HAS NO DOUBT AS TO U.S. VIEWS ON THE OBSERVANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS. THE IRANIAN GOVERNMENT IS ALSO AWARE OF THE LEGISLATION IN WHICH YOU HAVE PLAYED A PROMINENT ROLE, MR. CHAIRMAN. HOWEVER, WE HAVE NOT MADE OFFICIAL REPRESENTATIONS TO IRAN ON THE CONDITIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THAT COUNTRY FOR TWO REASONS. FIRST, WE BELIEVE THAT THE ADMINISTRATION OF IRANIAN JUDICIAL AND PENAL SYSTEMS IS ABOVE ALL A MATTER OF INTERNAL IRANIAN RESPONSIBILITY, AND THAT ONE SOVEREIGN COUNTRY SHOULD NOT INTERFERE LIGHTLY IN ANOTHER'S DOMESTIC AFFAIRS. THIS IS ADMITTEDLY A MATTER OF FINE JUDGMENT,

ON WHICH THERE CAN BE HONEST DIFFERENCES. IN REACHING
OUR JUDGMENT, WE HAVE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT THE REMARKABLE
PROGRESS WHICH HAS BEEN MADE IN IRAN IN MANY AREAS OF
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HUMAN RIGHTS AS WELL AS THE UNIQUE AND EXTRAORDINARILY
DIFFICULT PROBLEMS OF TERRORISM AND OTHER MANIFESTATIONS
OF SOCIAL DISRUPTION. IF IRAN'S INTERNAL PRACTICES IN
MATTERS RELATING TO HUMAN RIGHTS WERE A GROWING AFFRONT
TO INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS, WE WOULD OF COURSE RECONSIDER
OUR JUDGMENT. THE TREND APPEARS TO US, HOWEVER, TO BE
IN THE OPPOSITE DIRECTION.

I WANT TO SUPPLEMENT THE PREPARED STATEMENT AT THIS POINT
FOR PURPOSES OF CLARIFICATION. WHAT I HAVE BEEN TALKING
ABOUT ARE FORMAL CRITICAL REPRESENTATIONS WHICH TEND TO
BECOME WIDELY KNOWN AND TO BECOME CONFRONTATIONAL ISSUES.
THIS IS WHAT WE HAVE NOT DONE, FOR THE REASONS I HAVE GIVEN
AND ALSO BECAUSE WE DO NOT THINK THEY ARE EFFECTIVE.
WE BELIEVE QUIET DISCUSSIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES, SO
THAT THERE WILL BE NO MISUNDERSTANDING OF OUR VIEWS AND
OUR LAWS, IS A BETTER WAY TO PROCEED. THIS WE HAVE DONE.
THIS IS WHAT I MEANT WHEN I SAID THE GOVERNMENT OF IRAN
IS AWARE OF OUR VIEWS.

IN APPLYING SECTION 502(B) OF THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT
TO IRAN, WE ARE ABOUT TO BEGIN THE FORMULATION OF FY 1978
SECURITY ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS. AVAILABLE EVIDENCE REGARD-
ING IRAN'S OBSERVANCE OF INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED HUMAN
RIGHTS WILL BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN THIS PROCESS AND A
REPORT TO CONGRESS ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN IRAN WILL ACCOMPANY
OUR FY 1978 LEGISLATIVE REQUEST.

THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN IRAN WAS CONSIDERED BY THE
UN COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN 1975. THE COMMISSION
MEMBERS DETERMINED THAT THERE WAS NOT SUFFICIENT EVIDENCE
PRESENTED TO THE COMMISSION ON WHICH TO BASE FURTHER ACTION
THE COMMISSION ADOPTED THE FOLLOWING CONSENSUS DECISION:
"THE COMMISSION DECIDES THAT IN THE CASE OF IRAN, NO ACTION
IS CALLED FOR UNDER COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1503."

FINALLY, MR. CHAIRMAN, THE UNITED STATES NO LONGER HAS
ECONOMIC OR MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS WITH IRAN, AL-
THOUGH IRAN HAS PURCHASED THROUGH THE FOREIGN MILITARY
SALES SYSTEM A SUBSTANTIAL AMOUNT OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT
TO STRENGTHEN ITS SECURITY AND TO PERMIT IT TO PLAY A
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RESPONSIBLE SECURITY ROLE IN THE AREA.

IN SUMMARY, MR. CHAIRMAN, I CREDIT IRANIAN LEADERSHIP FOR ITS CONSIDERABLE SKILL AND HARD WORK IN DEVELOPING THE LAND AND TRAINING THE PEOPLE SO THAT ALL IRANIANS WILL IN TIME HAVE A BETTER LIFE. BECAUSE THIS GOAL IS VIOLENTLY OPPOSED BY BOTH THE EXTREME LEFT AND THE EXTREME RIGHT WITHOUT REGARD FOR THE RIGHTS OF THEIR VICTIMS, THERE HAVE BEEN TIMES THAT PRACTICES AND PROCEDURES TO DEAL WITH THAT OPPOSITION, WHICH WE COULD NOT APPROVE FOR OURSELVES, HAVE TAKEN PLACE. BUT, WHEN I PLACE THESE IN THE BROAD CONTEXT WHICH I HAVE TRIED TO DEVELOP FOR YOU TODAY, I BELIEVE THAT THE ADVANCES WHICH HAVE BEEN MADE IN IMPROVING THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE BROAD MAJORITY

OF IRAN'S POPULATION UNDER CONSIDERABLE ADVERSITY FAR OUTWEIGH SUCH ABUSES AS HAVE OCCURRED IN AN ATTEMPT TO CONTROL THE VIOLENT CHALLENGES TO THE GOVERNMENT.

THANK YOU.

3. ADDENDUM HAD ONLY FEW MINOR CHANGES, AND WE ELIMINATED REPLIES ON USG REPRESENTATIONS TO IRAN (PARA 5 IN PREVIOUS TEXT) AND LAST TWO PARAS IN PARA 6 OF ADDENDUM. BOTH OMISSIONS WERE MADE IN LIGHT OF FACT QUESTIONS WERE ANSWERED ADEQUATELY IN PREPARED STATEMENT. KISSINGER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TEXT, HUMAN RIGHTS, US CONGRESSIONAL PRESENTATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 08 SEP 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: n/a
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 JAN 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976STATE222610
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: CWNAAS:AMF
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760340-0323
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760980/aaaacqnx.tel
Line Count: 792
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN NEA
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 15
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: cahillha
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 30 JUL 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <30 JUL 2004 by oatisao>; APPROVED <14 DEC 2004 by cahillha>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CONGRESSIONAL TESTIMONY ON HUMAN RIGHTS--ATHERTON SPEECH
TAGS: SHUM, SOCI, IR, (ATHERTON, ALFRED L JR)
To: TEHRAN
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006